

THE TRAGEDY OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION: EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE THE...

Theodor Herzl



OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

The Tragedy of Jewish Immigration

EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE
THE BRITISH ROYAL
COMMISSION IN 1902 BY
THEODOR HERZL

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FOREWORD

After seventeen years the evidence given by Theodor Herzl before the British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration reads as fresh and convincing as on the day it was given. Bearing as it does on the important political and economic phases of the Jewish Problem, Herzl's testimony is wholly applicable to present day conditions though the measure of need has grown a thousandfold owing to the war. As he said of charity—there is nothing new to be said of the Jewish problem. His vision of the solution of the Jewish question was simple but complete. Today when many of his ideas are to be tested by application, it seems fitting to place before the public in Herzl's own words his understanding of the inter-relation of the factors that make up and answer the problem of Jewish immigration: Jewish "Elend," anti-Semitism, Jewish charity, recognition of the Jewish people and the creation of a home for the Jews in Palestine.

It is a tribute to his far-seeing statesmanship that it is possible to publish every word he said to the commission in 1902, as though he spoke today, the simple advocate of the Jewish people, to the nations of the world.

JACOB DEHAAS.

December, 1919—5680.

The Tragedy of Jewish Immigration

The sixteenth sitting of the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was held on Monday, July 7, 1902, at the Westminster Town Hall, London, England, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord James of Hereford, Chairman of the Commission. The other members present were the Right Hon. Lord Rothschild, the Hon. Alfred Lyttleton, K.C., M.P., Sir Kenelm Digby, K.C.B., Major W. E. Evans-Gordon, M.P., Mr. Henry Norman, M.P., and Mr. William Valance.

The first witness called was Dr. Theodor Herzl, and at the commencement of the proceedings Mr. Norman said: "It was originally arranged that I should examine Dr. Herzl, but I venture to suggest that it would save the time of the Commission and be a simpler method of procedure if Dr. Herzl were to be asked to read his own statement as a basis for our subsequent questions."

This was agreed to, and Major Gordon, at Dr. Herzl's request, read the following statement, which had been prepared by the witness:

FORESHADOWED DIFFICULTY

"I am an Austrian subject, and seven years ago, when I was living in Paris, I was so impressed with the state of Jewry throughout Europe that I turned my attention to the Jewish question and published a pamphlet which I called 'A Jewish State.' I may say that it was not my original intention to publish this pamphlet or to take part in a political movement; but, after placing before a number of influential Jews my views upon the Jewish question and finding that they were utterly oblivious of the danger which I then foresaw—that they could not see the large black cloud gathering in the East—I published the pamphlet which resulted in the establishment of the Zionist movement. The first Zionist Congress was held at Basle, Switzerland, in 1897, and I was elected President. I have been re-elected to that office at every subsequent Congress. My position as head of the Zionist movement brings me into close touch with Jews living in all countries throughout the world, and I am therefore cognizant of the state of affairs as affecting Jewry both generally and locally.

"On the whole I regret to say the state of Jewry is worse today than it was seven years ago when I published my pamphlet. To go

no further, there had not then arisen the necessity—actual or supposed—for instituting an Alien Immigration Commission in England. If I may without presumption say so, I foresaw that the Jewish difficulty would arise in this country. In 'A Jewish State,' published in 1896, I said:

"The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so even in those most highly civilized—France itself being no exception—till the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America."

"The fact that there is now for the first time since Cromwell a perceptible number of our people in England is the true cause of this Commission being called together. Those who deny this are, I feel quite certain, perfectly sincere. When they cry out about Alien Immigration, they are quite unconscious of the true cause of their complaint. They feel the pain and they point to the place which hurts: the cause of the pain is to be found somewhere of which they know nothing. But I think it right to say that the mere establishment of this Commission has created a difficulty—in itself no small one. For, as a result, the Commission must either recommend restrictive legislation or not. If the former, and its recommendations are given effect by Parliament, then England will break away from the great principle of free asylum to the oppressed, which hitherto has been its glory, although the endeavor to keep out the poor oppressed Jews cannot, I believe, be successful. But if restrictive legislation is not recommended, the mere fact of this Commission having sat will give an impetus to immigration to England; it will have formed an additional notification of the desirability of England as a place for emigration.

"I cannot regard the question before the Commission as a small one in comparison with a question, for instance, of local housing or local overcrowding. As to these, I know little so far as they affect the districts of the East End of London. The most I know is what I have read of the evidence placed before the Commission; and that evidence tells me quite plainly that questions of overcrowding and of housing are at most incidental, that the forces at work are the identical forces at work against our people elsewhere, the forces which I have denominated 'forces of common trade'

jealousy, of inherited prejudice and of pretended self-defense.' These forces are at work here, and mask it in any way you choose, the cry of restriction in alien immigration arises from the presence here of a perceptible number of Jews, and the desire that that number shall not be perceptibly increased. You have had witnesses before you who have explained to you the reasons which induce Jews from Eastern Europe to come to this country and to America. Permit me to say that it is not by any means chiefly material advantages that draw them hither. Moral advantages play the larger part—a desire to live in conditions compatible with human aspirations—a desire for the freedom of life and soul which the Jew cannot under present conditions know in Eastern Europe.

"ELEND"

"Whether the immigration is in itself desirable for this country or not, it is not for me to say. I am at best a partial witness, and just because they possess distinct virtues, such as remarkable industry, sobriety and thrift, these immigrants are possibly no more welcome than if they had vices unalloyed. And so far as Eastern Europe, which, because it contains so large a proportion of the whole of Jewry, regulates the whole of Jewry, things, as I have said, are becoming worse and worse day by day. I need only point to Roumania as a very present instance of the method by which Jews are forced from their homes; even after they have served in the army they are still aliens in the land of their birth. For the Commission must understand that Jews more than other peoples—certainly not less—are attached to their homes. This fact makes their lot more tragic. In mediaeval German the word "Elend" means both misery and exile, and the two have ever been synonymous for the Jew. So you must not imagine that the Jew has rushed from the land of his birth immediately conditions were made unfavorable for him, and that you here in England have got to the end of the question. Indeed I must congratulate this country upon instituting an inquiry into it at what hereafter will, I have not much doubt, be regarded as almost its inception.

"The perceptible number of Jews, of which I have spoken, is most likely to increase, and to increase from immigration under present circumstances, because I notice that even Mr. Arnold White would not try to exclude those immigrants who are victims of persecution. That limitation, if adopted, and it is impossible to think of England doing otherwise, leaves free entry for our people from Eastern Europe. I read the evidence tendered to the Commission by Mr. Llewellyn Smith, in which he stated that as many as 58,000

Jews migrated to the United States last year. The numbers to me are appalling, because I can form an estimate of the misery and the wrong that has driven these people forth from the places in which they were born, always remembering that the self-imposed sentence of exile is not with the Jews, as with those of other nationalities, for a term of years. With the Jews it is a life sentence.

"That a serious pressure already exists in England, the fact of your Commission sitting is full proof.

DISSEMINATION SENSELESS

"It matters not whether the pressure that is felt ought to be experienced. If it ought not, that makes it none the less severe, and, from what I know, I am certain that only a big measure will meet what must become a big question. The question will, naturally, always be a bigger question for the Jews than for those among whom they live, however big it may be for the latter, and the solution of the problem is primarily for Jews themselves; others can only help. I see that a proposal to remedy the evil complained of has been made for disseminating or dispersing our people by inducing them to leave the East End of London and settle in other parts of England. This appears to me at best a most short-sighted means of meeting the trouble. I agree with what Mr. Greenberg has written upon this point in the current number of the Jewish Year Book, that if today there is an evil in one spot, tomorrow, this plan being successful, the evil would be in many spots. But, above all, I object to any tacit arrangement whereby only a certain number of our people—and no more, for that is what it comes to—shall live in any given district.

"That Jews themselves should be devising means for excluding their own people from whole districts is, to my mind, monstrous. In principle they are pursuing the same policy as those who favor a restriction of alien immigration. I cannot say that I am altogether surprised at the despair of which this is indicative, which, at the very outset of the Jewish difficulty here, has settled upon the Jewish community in England. I have warned English Jews of their unpreparedness to meet a state of affairs they hoped could never arise, in speech after speech which I have made; and for the matter of that, others of our school of thought have made in England. What surprises me is the depth of the despair, the extent of unpreparedness which can propose only the senseless proposal of dissemination as a remedy for the evils which are fast gathering around Jews here in England, as they have gathered round them elsewhere.

"The fact is, that this scheme is conceived in the same antiquated spirit as what is known as Jewish charity. Jewish charity is still run upon lines that in the Middle Ages were ample. Alteration of conditions has entirely outgrown it.

JEWISH CHARITY BANKRUPT

"In old-fashioned times Jewish charity in various localities was instituted largely to relieve the needs of those traveling from other localities who had been rendered paupers by persecution, and the motive-spring was, to a considerable extent, the uncertainty as to how soon the charity giver of today might become the beggar of tomorrow. There was a kinship in misfortune; if not actual, then prospective. But in those days the space that had to be traversed by the wandering Jew was but a few miles, a walking distance perhaps, and the relief required was what was necessary to carry him a short way. Today, however, the means of communication have outgrown the charitable system, so that London charity, for instance, is responsible for the moving on of Jews who wish to migrate from Russia to America, and to such a point of perplexity has the old system reached that it cannot any longer always employ itself to relieve the people. Thus it comes about that money intended to release Jews from their wretched state has been used to send them back into it. This was notably the case with the Roumanian refugees who came to England, and found their only reception in the one recipe, 'repatriation'—repatriation to a place where the repatriated will arrive again as aliens. This is what I have meant when I have said that Jewish charity is bankrupt.

ASSIMILATION IMPOSSIBLE

"Its business is to move Jews from worse to better conditions. When it has to move them from better to worse it has failed and broken down.

"Then there is the proposal of assimilation, and, of course, those who put forward assimilation as a solution of the Jewish question do not mean merely an apish assimilation of slavish and often vulgar imitation. They mean, I suppose, assimilation by intermarriage, so that the small stream of our race may be merged and lost in the broad stream of peoples among whom they live. Well, as to intermarriage there are two sides to the question. Suppose the Jews were willing—a very large supposition—how is it to be imagined that people who will not put up with us as neighbors will become allied to us as members of our families? I am, of course,

speaking of intermarriage as a world-wide policy, not in a few instances here and there, which take place now. So that prior to intermarriage taking place the whole status of the Jew would have to be different; at least, throughout the world he would have to be regarded with feelings far different from those which are now general; and when that came about, when the world came to appreciate the Jew at his true worth to a sufficient extent as to desire intermarriage with him, then the world would probably recognize his value as a separate entity, and give us our right to exist as a separate people, according us our rightful place among the nations of the world.

"We should either intermarry before the world was ready for us, and thus, court disaster by a revulsion against our entering Gentile circles, or we should do so when the world was ready for us, and then there would be not only no necessity, but we should be destroying a people the world had come to recognize, to respect and to desire to see maintained. I am, you will understand, arguing this matter for the moment on the presumption that our people were willing to intermarry. But there is nothing the great body and bulk of our people hold to more strongly than the sentiment as to marriage. Intermarriage is not regarded with aversion, even by the most orthodox, so long as the person contracting a marriage with a Jew or Jewess become also a Jew or Jewess.

THE ZIONIST SOLUTION

"There remains then the solution I foreshadowed in my pamphlet 'A Jewish State.' Naturally what I wrote then I would not entirely write now in the same language or in detail. When I wrote it no Congress of Jews had been held. There have now been five such congresses. I was writing, therefore, without any of the knowledge I have since obtained from conversation with Jews, nor did I then write in any official capacity. But the main principle holds good, the solution of the Jewish difficulty is the recognition of Jews as a people, and the finding by them of a legally recognized home to which Jews in those parts of the world in which they are oppressed would naturally migrate, for they would arrive there as citizens just because they were Jews, and not as aliens. This would mean the diverting of the stream of immigration from this country, from America where so soon as they form a perceptible number they become a trouble and a burden to a land where the true interest would be served by accommodating them as far as possible. Given to Jews their rightful position as a people, I am convinced they would develop a distinct Jewish cult—national characteristics and

national aspirations—which would make for the progress of mankind. I perhaps have no right to direct the attention of the Commission to this branch of the subject, which, it may be, lies entirely outside of the reference of its inquiry.

"But I feel very strongly that nothing will meet the problem the Commission is called upon to investigate and advise upon except a diverting of the stream of migration that is bound to go on with increasing force from Eastern Europe. The Jews of Eastern Europe cannot stay where they are. Where are they to go? If you find they are not wanted here, then some place must be found to which they can migrate, without by that migration raising the problems that confront them here. Those problems will not arise if a home be found which will be legally recognized as Jewish. And I submit that, whether the Commission can directly influence that solution of the problem or no, they must not omit to consider it and give it the high value of its opinion. So far as Jews are concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that the solution is practicable and feasible, and is the one above all others which they would welcome, and which would obtain the most earnest co-operation of those whose hopeless misery is the cause of the troubles with which they and you are confronted."

IT IS A JEWISH QUESTION

At the conclusion of this statement Dr. Herzl was examined by the Commissioners as follows:

Q. You are aware, are you not, that this Commission does not regard the question of Alien Immigration into this country as only a Jewish question?

A. Yes; but after having read the evidence with a certain amount of attention, I found that the Commission dealt principally with the Jewish immigration. There was very little question of the immigration of other nationalities.

Q. My point is that your communication would convey to any one who was not otherwise informed that this whole question is a question of Jew and Christian, whereas the Commission, I think, regards it as an economic question. I wanted to be sure that in anything you might say afterward you understood that we dealt not only with Jews, but with Italians and any class of immigrants, just as we should with Chinese if they were here.

A. I see that it is principally an economic question because of the tendency to inquire about virtues. When you deal with alien immigrants you ask whether these people have virtues or vices. I

understand it is not only from the moral standpoint, but principally from the economic, otherwise there would have been more speaking about certain classes of immigrants which are massed in several points of London, and whose moral standing is rather lower. I would not say anything against another group of men, but there are those whose moral standing is rather lower than that of the Jewish working-men in the East End. The inquiring about virtues shows it is a sign that it is an economic question. A competitor who is more virtuous is more dangerous.

Q. As to whether this immigration is a good thing for us or not, you express no opinion?

A. I am not an Englishman, but if I were, I should not consider industrious, sober and thrifty people undesirable immigrants. If I were an Englishman I should try to find out the right place for these forces which are coming, and strengthening, in my opinion, the power of the land. That would be my point, I could not find them undesirable if investigations proved that they are sober, thrifty and industrious.

Q. Your reply takes me rather further than I meant to go at this moment; I will pass to another point. You say that the number of Jews coming will necessarily, in your opinion, increase from immigration?

A. Yes.

Q. We must expect that?

A. Yes.

Q. You lay emphasis here upon the moral forces which bring these Jewish immigrants, but you do not, of course, overlook the fact that there are great material forces which bring them as well. The fact that they find it easier to get on and prosper here and make money in competition plays at least as large a part as the moral forces in bringing them over?

A. An immigrant Jew is in a condition in which he is not able to foresee what will happen ten years after, when he comes to a higher social scale where he will display greater enterprise. At the moment of his immigration his only thought is not to starve. I think there is less reflection in it than you think; that is to say, it is like a natural force which drives them, and like a stream of water which seeks the place of least resistance.

THE POOL OF BLOOD

Q. The immigrant thinks he is less likely to starve by coming to this country?

A. That brings us to the condition of foreign Jews in the Pale in Eastern Europe. May I be allowed to give my opinion upon that point? You have done me the honor of calling me because you want to hear the truth, and to the best of my ability I give it. If you want to understand this question, you must not only try to see it from the East End of London point of view, you must try to see it from the Eastern Europe point of view; and if I may anticipate a question which will necessarily arise, I think if you see a pool of blood in your room, you have the natural wish to clean your room. But what is the reason for the pool of blood? The reason is that outside is a wounded man. Help the wounded man first and afterward clean your room. That is the situation.

Q. Among the moral forces which bring these immigrants here, and the material forces too, do you say that Jewish charity is a magnet which draws them here?

A. I think so. May I be allowed to add that I am very thankful, from a human standpoint, for this great Jewish charity as it is exercised in London, and if I make objections they are only from a political point of view. Certainly I do not say it is wrong to give a piece of bread to a starving man.

Q. We all appreciate these magnificent charities from that point of view; but the question has often arisen before this Commission whether they have not another very striking effect, namely, to serve as a magnet to attract the very poorest?

A. Yes, you see the difficulty. The reproaches to the resident Jews would be far greater if they did not give this charity, if they left these poor people to the general charity. It is a perplexity.

ANTI-SEMITISM POSSIBLE IN ENGLAND

Q. I am not discussing the moral aspect of the charity, I am only discussing its economic effect. You speak in this statement of yours of a state of affairs in connection with this matter which will arise in this country if the immigration goes on. What state of affairs had you in your mind?

A. I shall not try to make prophecies, but I think from what we see there are the same natural forces working in the grouping of men here as elsewhere; and if the number of immigrants grows, I think you will get an anti-Semitic feeling which I am happy to say does not exist in England generally. I think in general it can be stated that England is not an anti-Semitic country, but I am afraid it could become one some day. I think it is of general interest; and for that reason I ask permission to speak broadly. This char-

acter of England as a free country is not only an English question, but it is a question of universal interest.

Q. Therefore you do regard the possible growth of an anti-Semitic feeling in this country, which everybody would deeply deplore, as being one of the dangers of this unrestricted immigration, if it continues?

A. I would not answer the question as to restriction or not. You say "unrestricted immigration." The restriction is a separate question. I am afraid undiverted immigration could in time create such an anti-Jewish feeling.

Q. That was my point. With regard to remedies, as you have seen, it has been suggested here, and the view is held by many people, that dissemination of the present Jewish immigrants, distributing them from the one little center in East London to different parts of the United Kingdom, would be a proper and feasible solution; that is not your opinion, is it?

A. No. I remember in my legal career—I do not know if you have such a thing in England—the interdiction of changing place. I do not know how you term it in your legal language, but I think you have not such a thing at all.

The Chairman: No.

Dr. Herzl: It is not an English idea; it is rather Russian or a reactionary idea, to fix a man as to where he should live. As I understand, English feelings are against that.

The Chairman: We have no such thing. It is a police regulation, you mean?

Dr. Herzl: Yes; I could not understand how Jews themselves could propose such a thing.

Mr. Norman: Dissemination, as we understand it, means simply relieving the pressure at one point by encouraging, and not by in any way forcing these people to settle in other parts.

A. I think that is a very impracticable idea. I would not enter into details, but I think that the moment you see it, it is impracticable.

Q. You hold the view that that would be merely to create in time in many places the evil which at present chiefly exists in one place?

A. It is a question which I think has not been seen through by those who put it forward. A man whom you encourage to settle anywhere will believe that you are obliged to maintain him. He will always come to say, "Well, you told me to stay there, and you must give me some means of earning my living there." It is not necessary to enter into that, I think.

Q. In fact, you say you regard that solution as being a senseless one?

A. Yes; if that word is not too strong for me.

Q. With regard to assimilation as a remedy, as I gather from you, it neither could be expected, nor, from the Jewish point of view, is it to be desired?

A. I myself was an assimilated Jew, and I speak from experience. I think the Jews have rather a natural tendency to assimilate. There arrives a moment when they are in a very good way. And then just at that moment comes anti-Semitism. The whole of history has taught us that never have Jews been in a happier condition than they were in Spain before the Inquisition and expulsion of the fifteenth century. They were then all they could be, and they had all they could have.

"A TROUBLE AND A BURDEN"

Q. In fact, a vital difference of point of view between yourself and certain other influential Jews, is that they rather desire the process of assimilation, whereas you desire the persistence of Jewish nationality?

A. I think that is like what the Roman Church calls a question of form, forum internum. You must leave that to every man for himself, and he must himself decide whether he will assimilate or not, whether he will go to another nation or belong to his historical nation. I say it is not right to influence a man to do it, except by putting arguments before him, or letting the forces work.

Q. In these notes you freely admit that "as soon as these immigrants become a perceptible number they become a trouble and a burden." Those are your words?

A. There are economic reasons which have been explained at length before you by men who know well the condition of the East End.

Q. I merely wish to get out once more the fact that in your opinion also this increase of numbers produces "trouble and burden"?

A. Yes; but not because they are Jews with special Jewish characteristics. Perhaps you will remember what happened in 1892-1893 in France. There were very serious riots against Italian workingmen. You had there two peoples of very near historical and racial kinship, and they had such troubles, for economic reasons, about bread.

Q. Entirely apart from any question of race or nationality of these immigrants, they do, when their numbers increase, as you have

said, become "a trouble and a burden," quite apart from any question of race or nationality?

A. For this well-known economic reason, that they can work cheaper because they come under unspeakable conditions.

Q. But the fact is so?

A. The fact is so everywhere where you have too many competitors.

Q. You hold that the "trouble and burden" can only be dealt with at the source, by diverting the stream of immigration?

A. By diverting the stream in such a way as each would take. This diversion, in my idea, must not be forced upon them.

Q. It must be in a manner acceptable to them?

A. Yes; and to bring them under happier conditions.

Q. But, at any rate, it cannot be dealt with, in your opinion, at the place itself where the trouble and burden occur. I gather that is your opinion?

A. Yes.

Q. It must be dealt with far away, where the trouble begins, where, according to your own simile, the wounded man lies?

A. Yes.

Q. Therefore it follows logically from that, that you would regard any regulations about overcrowding, sanitary regulations of a purely local character?

A. As insufficient.

The Chairman: As insufficient to meet what?

A. To meet the difficulty by measures against overcrowding.

The Chairman: Do you mean the difficulty throughout Europe?

Mr. Norman: No; in East London, to meet the difficulty of the trouble and burden. The chairman desires me to ask you whether you mean the trouble and burden on the Jewish race, or the trouble and burden on the community here?

A. On the general community.

Q. In England?

A. Yes.

Q. You mean the local burden?

A. I think if you could succeed in bringing a remedy to this local question you would only cure a symptom and not the illness. I do not believe you could find efficacious measures against this overcrowding.

Q. When you spoke of "when there becomes a perceptible number of these immigrants here, then the trouble and burden arises," what you had in mind was the trouble and burden in the community in which they found themselves?

Sir Kenelm Digby: I did not understand that.

Mr. Norman: I will refer to the passage. It is in the quotation, "This would mean the diverting of the stream of immigration from this country and America, where so soon as they form a perceptible number they become a trouble and a burden." That means they become a trouble and a burden here.

Sir Kenelm Digby: I understand the point of Dr. Herzl's evidence to be, that in order to deal satisfactorily with the Jewish problem it is desirable that they shall be diverted elsewhere than to countries where they will be aliens. I thought he was at no time speaking of the trouble and burden here, because he had no experience of it.

Dr. Herzl: I said that I knew about that only what I learn through the evidence given before this Commission. The local question and the London question you know far better than I do.

Mr. Norman: As regards the details, but as regards the general effect I presume you judge it from the results?

A. I must confess I think it is a very commonplace saying, because it is the most natural thing in the world, that if you get too many shoemakers in one street, against the last shoemaker there would perhaps be a riot.

Q. You have said that this trouble and burden must be dealt with at the place where the burden is felt?

A. Yes.

THE COMMISSION MUST ACT

Q. If you look at it for a moment from a purely English point of view, whatever the distant cure is, from an English point of view, it can only be cured by taking some step which will stop the influx of these immigrants into the country when they cause the trouble and the burden?

A. That is the question before you to decide, whether you will be English or inhuman, if you will allow me to say so in my free speaking way; whether you will protect your native labor which pretends to be damaged, or whether you will close your doors on a very miserable and very pitiable group of men.

The Chairman: Does not the witness accept the old Latin saying, that you must go to the fountain to find the evil, *melius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos?*

A. Yes.

Mr. Norman: You would accept the Chairman's words, that to cure the evil you must go to the fountain?

A. Certainly.

Q. You point out that the fact of this Commission having sat makes it imperative in our own interest that something should be done?

A. Yes.

Q. Having begun in self-defense we must go on?

A. In self-defense, or by way of help; and I think the best self-defense would be a generous and broad-minded measure, which perhaps I could put in one way or another before you for consideration.

Q. Apart from the actual cure which might be adopted, you hold that the Commission is, as it were, a great advertisement of this country to these immigrants everywhere, and if nothing is done their numbers will increase even more rapidly than before?

A. I think in every case when a Commission comes together they must try to get a result. If you ask me whether you could do any efficacious work as regards the local questions, I give you my opinion that I think it is not possible.

Q. I only desire to get your meaning quite clearly upon this point. I will put it in this way: supposing it were desirable for us to do something, having sat now, it becomes much more desirable than ever?

A. Certainly.

Q. On the whole, you think it a good thing, and you congratulate us that the Commission has sat?

A. Yes; because in other countries, even in free America, they simply closed the door. I think it is a good thing that you in England should first try to understand the situation, and you will do so.

Q. You understand, of course, that it is not from any lack of sympathy that I am not putting questions of a different kind to you. I have been as brief as possible, turning my attention only to these very material points?

A. Certainly.

PERSECUTION CAUSES IMMIGRATION

Major Evans-Gordon: With regard to persecution, I want to get clearly from you what ground there is for saying that the immigration of Jews to this country is solely or mainly due to persecution?

A. Do you ask if I mean that the immigration to this country is solely due to persecution?

Q. No; but the tendency of your statement is that these are a persecuted people, and they consequently come here being driven

from their own homes. What ground have you for stating that their coming here is due to persecution either solely or mainly?

A. I do not think it is due solely to persecution. All these questions generally touch human questions. I think a man has a natural tendency to remain on his soil if he has a soil. There may be exceptions among some young people, adventurers and merchants discovering new parts of the world and so on; but the average person had rather a tendency to remain on his soil. I cannot say it is solely persecution, for among those coming here are adventurers and young people who like to know the world, just like your young English people go to India, China, and so on. But I think among the family fathers, the patres familii, coming here, they only come when they are in very deep depression. When a man is already at home with his family he does not like to change his place.

Q. Have you ever been within the Russian Pale?

A. No; but every day I receive thirty or forty letters.

Q. What I want to get at actually is the nature of the persecution, you say that part of it, at all events, is due to persecution and part to the spirit of adventure and the desire to move onwards. I want to know what the persecution actually consists of?

A. It is an economic boycott. Is that persecution? Certainly. Then they are persecuted. This question has many forms: in one place they are administrative, and in another place they are legal persecutions. You see local persecution in one town and general conditions in another, but everywhere the Jew is the scapegoat, the whipping-box and one day he tries no longer to be a scapegoat and he seeks other skies.

Q. Do you know whether it is a fact that the Russo-Jewish Committee or the chairman of it, Mr. N. S. Joseph, has stated that not one in ten of the applicants for relief here even alleged they were persecuted?

A. You have outbreaks and persecutions which come rarely and then you have this long pressure every day. A man who does not know what it is to be a free man says, "no, I am not persecuted" because he has not got his head wounded. He understands by "persecution" something which we should find very dreadful.

Q. Do you understand that it is the economic conditions of the sixteen provinces of the Pale of Russia which constitute the persecution, or is it a consequence of bygone persecution when the Jews in Russia were concentrated in the sixteen provinces?

A. I do not quite understand your question.

Q. Is it the economic condition of the Pale which exists now which you define as persecution?

A. It is a permanent state of misery; and beyond that you have the fact that they cannot better their lot. They cannot go into another town to find work. They are under a constant pressure.

The Chairman: Do you trace that misery existing now to present causes, or to causes arising in the past?

A. To both. The present is a consequence of the past.

Major Evans-Gordon: But the economic conditions of over-crowding and so forth where there is great pressure is a form of persecution which exists anywhere people are overcrowded?

A. Yes; but added to that, that this Jew is not sure of his life for tomorrow, and if his house is burned and his windows are smashed, that is nothing. He lives in a perpetual fear of the madness of persecution.

THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

Q. There is another cause at work for these people coming here. I have questioned great numbers of them, and I have been among them a great deal, and I find that there is a tendency to send for their relations to come over here?

A. If you had a friend and you came here under a better climate and better conditions, you would write to your friend, "My friend! Here I am, more happy than I was yesterday." But if you talk of sending for him, I do not know it.

Q. That tendency is at work which brings a number of people here?

A. Yes; I think so.

Q. The one attracts the other?

A. Yes; but that is rather a primitive means of announcing a thing nowadays. Today we have newspapers, and all these people read the newspapers, and they know that you have such and such conditions of life here. It is not necessary that each man must write himself.

Q. You would say that to send those people back to their own country is persecution?

A. It would be cruel.

Q. It is a cruel thing to do in your opinion?

A. Yes.

Q. As you have said in your statement, you know that considerable numbers of them are sent back here by the Jewish community?

A. I do not think that was done as wanton cruelty; they were so unprepared; they never believed what we faced at the first Con-

gress in Basle in 1897. Perhaps you will allow me to give you a very interesting statement. We had from Roumania alone 5,258 petitions of 37,043 people; they asked us to help them, as they were starving in 1897; and in 1900 only began this immigration of starving people—after three years. The cry for help was three years old when they started. The charitable bodies of the Jewish community did not take that seriously enough, they were wholly unprepared, and they could not help, that was the reason, and if my greatest foes did it I would not say it was done as an act of cruelty knowingly. They could not help themselves, they were perplexed.

Q. If the English government had done that, it would have been called restriction?

A. That is a question I myself put to these people. They had the excuse of not being able to help, not having the means of a large empire. They had an excuse.

Q. To pursue that point further with regard to persecution, you say in your statement, "where it does not exist it is carried by Jews in the course of their migration. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution." You say the presence of Jews in large numbers produces persecution. What evidence have you that there is any tendency to persecution here?

A. Persecution must be taken here as a word of school language, if I may say so. That includes the several forms of animosity against Jews. I cannot write books about it, but I must use a general term for it, and I included in it slight anti-Jewish feeling in society. Persecution may be a smile in society, and a coup-de-poing in Stepney.

Q. You say it produces persecution, but we will modify that, and say it produces anti-Jewish feeling or anti-Jewish action. Have you any evidence that there is any anti-Jewish feeling or action here, or that their presence has produced that?

A. I take it out of the evidence given by your witnesses before this Commission.

Q. Would you call a wish to exclude these people, or to restrict the number of them that come here, persecution?

A. It depends on the way you take it. There is a loyal self-defense, and you may defend yourself in a rightful way, and even in a human way. I think you, Major Gordon, said there is a difficulty on humane grounds. There is a difficulty.

Q. Has anyone that you have seen in this controversy or agitation since it has been going on ever suggested the withdrawal of a single privilege enjoyed by the Jews in England today?

A. I have not heard it.

Q. Is not what we believe, and I believe, to be the necessity for preventing an unlimited increase of the poorest part of our population perfectly compatible with the fullest religious and social freedom and equality of the Jews?

A. I understand your point.

Q. Is it not compatible with the perfect freedom of the Jews?

A. I would not be the crown witness for anything against Jews.

Q. Are not the two positions perfectly compatible?

A. That is a question of execution.

Q. I put it to you that the Jewish community themselves have been hitherto the only restrictionists—it is they who have sent the Jewish people back to these countries, as you describe them from better conditions to worse, but you cannot say that the Jewish community are anti-Semitic in any way?

A. Certain things you may do with a member of your family which would be an offense from another.

Major Evans-Gordon: That is a refinement. My point is that nobody has ever hitherto sought or suggested that a single privilege enjoyed by the Jews in this country today should be even modified or removed, and I say that position as one of the leaders in this controversy is perfectly compatible with the desire not to allow too many of them to come in.

The Chairman: Not only too many of them, but too many of the alien immigrants of all kinds.

A QUESTION OF SELF-DEFENSE

Major Evans-Gordon: I was coming to that. It is a perfectly reasonable position on my part. You opened your statement by saying that you understood this to be a Jewish question entirely, but I would remind you in that respect that we are only unfortunately at the outset of our inquiry, and we have been dealing with the East End particularly where most of the people who come do happen to be Jews, but that does not say we are not going to inquire equally closely into the coming in of people of all other nationalities. Do not take it, therefore, as a Jewish question.

A. You will have a witness who can give you details from those people.

Q. I do not want you to go away thinking we are merely approaching this question from a Jewish point of view. Now, in another part of your evidence you say, in quoting your article, that our people are acting on pretended self-defense?

A. Yes.

Q. Why do you say pretended self-defense?

A. Because self-defense is always a question of judgment. I do not know when the moment of self-defense comes for you, but I know when it comes for me. Therefore self-defense is always pretended.

Q. I rather take exception to the word "pretended" self-defense.

A. Always pretended, but in one case justified and in the other not.

Q. Surely men who are driven out from their homes by people who come from abroad, and are competed with in their employments and so forth, have got a right to defend themselves?

A. I confess I understand that feeling. There is no pretense whatever with regard to their hardships.

Mr. Norman: I think you use the word in the sense of the French word *prétendre*?

A. Yes.

Q. Without a moral reflection on anything, because with us the word "pretend" implies rather an offense?

A. No; I would not put it offensively in the evidence I give to you.

Major Evans-Gordon: Whether it is what you say *prétendre* or "pretense," there is as a matter of fact, and must be a real source of grievance, when people crowd into one district and crowd others out.

A. I think that is a question that answers itself.

Q. You regard this rightly no doubt from a purely Jewish point of view, from the point of view of your own people?

A. Yes.

Q. But we English people, have we not a duty to our own people as well as to the poor and oppressed foreign countries?

A. No doubt.

Q. Would not a cry for restriction equally arise from the presence of either a perceptible number of any foreigners, particularly non-assimilating foreigners—say Chinese—or the inflow of a foreign people into a country? Will that not lead to a cry for restriction, irrespective of their being Jews or whatever they are?

A. But what makes the question so painful is that all the other people have homes where they can go back to, and the Jews have not.

THE FOLLY OF REPATRIATION

Q. But that surely is somewhat discounted by the fact that some hundreds of them are sent back to these non-existing homes by the Jewish people every year?

A. It is a great fault in my opinion to do that, and the penalty is already coming back, the punishment to the community for doing it. They did not reflect that one day Major Gordon would question me. I understand the inference you intend to draw out of that, and one thing, Major Gordon, or you other gentlemen, will hear and say is: If you, the Jewish community, come and do that what shall we do from our point of view?

Q. You say in another part of your evidence that these people cannot live in the places that they come from, and where are they to go? I maintain that the fact of their being sent back there and sent back to places, as is repeatedly pointed out in the Jewish reports, where persecution is non-existent and where they can live, proves that there are places where they can live because they do live there, and they are living there now.

A. There are several views with regard to the conditions under which a man can live.

Q. Another point in that connection I want to point out is that I am assured (I feel sure with truth) that many of these people who go back actually apply to be sent back.

A. That brings us to the question of schnorrers and the wandering of the circulating Jews from shelter to shelter.

Q. How is that compatible with what you have said, that a man asks to go back to persecution?

A. Certainly; I shall not say that all these Jews are angels or gentlemen. They seek to journey if they can everywhere where there is a charity shelter and they make the trip.

Q. We will leave that point. What I want to get from you distinctly is that these people who come here, and of whom we are talking now, at all events, are your own people and in need, as you say, of an asylum somewhere, which is the chief thing, the principal consideration?

A. Yes.

Q. All other considerations are secondary to that in your eyes?

A. Yes.

Q. Having those feelings for your own people, do you deny us the right to consider our own people, too?

A. You do not want me to answer that question.

The Chairman: Whatever the witness says, I do not think the right will be denied to us.

The Witness: It is a rhetorical question.

Major Evans-Gordon: There has been a great deal said about anti-Jewish feeling, a thing I have personally resented in the strongest way, but what I want to get from you as a great Jewish authority is, if the Jewish people are paramount to you and your ways of thinking, may not our own people be paramount to us without our being charged with anti-Jewish feeling?

A. It is the same question.

Q. I understand that you are in conflict; that there is a divergence of opinion among a certain portion, at all events, of the Anglicized Jewish opinion here?

A. Yes.

Q. On what points do you differ?

A. They believe in assimilation.

THE BLACK CLOUD

Q. Kindly explain what you mean by your reference to "the black cloud gathering in the East?"

A. Since I wrote that book the "Jewish State" is worse than it was. Since I wrote that we have had the Roumanian emigration question. I am afraid we shall have one in Galicia, and there are far more Jews there. There are about 700,000 Jews in deep misery—very deep misery—and when I read the evidence here about the housing conditions in East London, that is a paradise. They have in a small room of a few square meters four families, and in every corner there is a family.

Q. The people come from conditions unfortunately worse than the worst conditions in London?

A. I do not know the worst conditions in London, but I think they have very bad conditions where they are.

Q. You do not give any opinion as to whether it is to the advantage or disadvantage of this country to import people largely who habitually live under those conditions?

A. I have given you already my opinion in an answer to Mr. Norman, saying that I should in every case look at the immigration of a workingman and of a man able to rise economically. I should always see in that an advantage for the whole community; not for his neighbors, perhaps, but certainly for the whole community, because there is more matter for income tax.

Q. Do you think that the Jewish difficulty has actually arisen in this country?

A. I think the difficulty is here when you are obliged to discuss it. You must have a reason.

Q. What do you anticipate would be the result if things are left as they are, if there is a policy of laissez faire?

A. I should not like to make any prophecy.

Q. You see from "the black cloud that is rising in the East," and from other influences at work, that this question is merely at its inception here?

A. Yes.

Q. That we have to face a very big thing?

A. Yes; I cannot but look so at the question.

Q. All the tendencies are to drive more and more people to this country?

A. Yes; I think so.

Q. In Lord Salisbury's words, "As you close one channel, the flow will come all the stronger down the one that is remaining open?"

A. You cannot close it without changing all the conditions of your land. Russia is a closed land, but England is not.

Q. Unlike the heads of the separate Jewish communities settled in various countries, you view these Jewish questions from the point of view of nationalism?

A. Yes.

Q. That is the point of difference between you and others?

A. Yes.

Q. Is, in your opinion, Jewish nationalism binding on those Jews who share your views?

A. In what sense binding?

Q. Loyalty to the Jewish nation and loyalty to the Jewish idea?

A. Yes.

The Chairman: Binding upon whom do you mean, equally with him?

Major Evans-Gordon: Binding on those who share Dr. Herzl's views of Jewish nationalism. My first question was that unlike the many heads of the separate Jewish communities all over Europe, you view these questions from the point of view of Jewish nationalism?

A. Yes.

A DEFINITION

Lord Rothschild: Would not the best thing be to ask Dr. Herzl what his views are about a Jewish nation?

Major Evans-Gordon: Would you say briefly what your views are about Jewish nationalism?

A. I will give you my definition of a nation, and you can add the adjective "Jewish." A nation is, in my mind, a historical group of men of a recognizable cohesion held together by a common enemy.

That is in my view a nation. Then if you add to that the word "Jewish" you have what I understand to be the Jewish nation.

Q. What would be the common enemy in this case?

A. The anti-Semite.

Q. Under those circumstances, with those people who hold those views with regard to the Jewish nation that you hold, is complete assimilation with the English community possible to those who are politically loyal to the Jewish state?

A. Certainly. I think assimilation is quite possible, I do not say that it is always desirable, but it is quite possible. You have the historical example of the Huguenots of France going to Germany and invited after the persecution of the Protestants in France, and you have all the great families who are perfect Germans, and you have General Zurlinden, who has a German name, but who is a French general.

Q. I want to point out to you in regard to the Huguenots that there is no analogy at all between the Huguenots and the people with whom we are dealing. The Huguenots were essentially an intermarrying people and were speedily absorbed by marriage into the general population. In this case it is not so in any shape or form.

A. Then it is proved that they will not assimilate wholly.

Q. It does not seem to matter whether the objection to intermarriage comes from the Gentile side or the Jewish side, the result remains exactly the same, that there is not intermarriage, or in very few instances is there intermarriage, and consequently no real assimilation is possible. Do you think that the relief and hospitality to the oppressed Jews of Roumania and the Russian Poles involve any possible danger to the English working classes by competition and so forth?

A. No. I do not think that. Why should charity do harm to others?

Q. I mean the charity that brings the people here?

A. We have spoken already about that question.

Q. We have also spoken about dissemination; you do not believe in that either?

A. No.

Q. You say that a Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers?

A. In the same way that you have an Irish question where Irish people are in great numbers.

Q. And therefore you would not disseminate?

A. No.

Q. And you say further that the plan of dissemination carries with it the idea of exclusion in detail. If you disseminate you say to them in practice, "So many of you may live here and so many may live there." That is exclusion of them in detail?

A. Yes.

Q. So that exclusion in detail involves the exclusion in gross. If you say, "You may not live here" to one lot, and then to another lot, "You may not live there," it amounts to the same thing?

A. It is against the principle of free movement.

Q. You consider that the efforts of the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Russian Jewish community here have broken down?

A. In that sense. I think they are not able to supply the need.

Q. They cannot deal with the number of people who come here?

A. They cannot.

THE ARGENTINE FAILURE

Q. Baron Hirsch left large benefactions for the Jewish people?

A. Yes.

Q. Have those benefactions increased or diminished the evil?

A. I think they were rather indifferent.

Q. They did not have any effect one way or the other?

A. No effect.

Q. With regard to the enormous question they were nothing?

A. No.

Q. A drop in the ocean?

A. I really think they did not do more than provide for schools and for several small agricultural stations.

Q. Did it do any good, or was it, in your opinion, money wasted?

A. It was rather money wasted.

Q. The money was spent in sending them to Argentina, partly?

A. Yes.

Q. And partly also to Palestine?

A. No.

Q. Was none spent on the Zionist Movement?

A. No.

Q. But they went to Argentina. Was that attempt to settle them in a country set apart for them a failure?

A. It has been a failure because when you want a great settlement you must have a flag and an idea. You cannot make those things only with money. As they had not these, they could not succeed.

Q. It had been suggested to me that Baron Hirsch's charity tended to increase the number of what you call schnorrers?

A. I think so.

Q. It did?

A. I think so. So many people know there is a large bag of money and they come.

Q. And have a go at it?

A. I think so. All that is so natural—I do not think it is merely Jewish.

Q. I agree with you. Do you know of the pressure that has been brought to bear upon the Russian Government with regard to improving the condition of the Jewish people who live under that government?

A. Certainly; there is a general movement in what you call public opinion to work upon the mind of the Russian Government. I think since the times of antiquity there was no such example of helots, and they are really helots or pariahs in Russia.

Q. Do you know anything about the financial position of Russia?

A. No.

Q. It has been suggested that pressure could be brought to bear upon Russia by withholding financial assistance?

A. I am not informed upon that.

Q. Have you ever seen it stated that the Jewish community helped the Russian Government in 1894, and at other times gave the Russian Government considerable financial aid?

A. For what?

Q. Loans?

A. I am not informed on that question.

Q. You do not express any opinion as to whether the withholding of such pecuniary facilities would enable us to bring pressure upon the Russian Government?

A. I should prefer not to speak about questions which might do any harm to my friends and brethren in Russia.

Major Evans-Gordon: I am sorry to have troubled you at such length, but I think I have come to the end. You have been most kind and most helpful.

Dr. Herzl: I am sorry that I could not answer you more readily.

After the adjournment L. W. Vallance took up the cross-examination.

Mr. Vallance: There was one reference you made to the difficulties of assimilation. I do not know exactly what you mean to

apply to the word in your sense. Do you mean assimilation by inter-marriage or in any other form?

A. By assimilation I understand verbally what the word contains, to become as similar; that you are no more distinguishable. That is assimilation.

Q. Then assuming that dissemination is possible, would not that lead to an assimilation in your sense?

A. No. Dissemination has been going on for 1,800 years. For 1,800 years the Jews have been scattered and they have not assimilated.

Q. Looking at the question from an English standpoint, and assuming that the aliens had not concentrated themselves so much in one district, and had been distributed over different parts of the country, would the question of alien immigration have arisen then?

A. I think so.

Q. You think that the evils which you have pointed out would still be existent?

A. I think so. It would come later on. It had to come.

Q. And there is no possibility of the question being dealt with other than at its sources?

A. I think so.

Q. I am not quite clear as to what you have in your mind when you speak of diverting at its source the stream of immigration into this country. Have you any particular scheme in your mind?

A. Yes.

DR. HERZL OFFERS TO CONFIDE IN CHAIRMAN

Q. Would you mind describing that?

A. I should prefer to point it out here only in a broad manner, and I should be very glad if I could give the details to your Chairman privately, and if he thinks it worthy then he could give them to your colleagues. For doing so I have certain reasons that will be apparent to you.

Q. You look upon dissemination as impracticable in this country, and almost a senseless proposal in dealing with the large question?

A. It seems to me to be one of the schemes proposed. I read in the English-Jewish newspapers of so many schemes of this and that to alleviate the question, but it seems to me that it is only one of the schemes.

Q. Looking at the question of alien immigration from the standpoint of the United States for a moment, you have referred to the fact that America excludes?

A. Yes.

Q. The exclusion is a partial exclusion?

A. Exclusion, as I know, is worked in this way; the immigrant must show a certain amount of money at the moment of his landing.

Q. You are aware that the stream of immigration into the United States is twice as much as the immigration into the United Kingdom?

A. I know that. New York has now the greatest Jewish population of all towns in the world.

Q. And the actual exclusion is the actual exclusion of a small proportion?

A. Yes; but they go, however, to America. I think it is so easy to evade such a prohibition. For instance, if they joined a small company, it would lend the necessary amount to each emigrant, and the emigrant shows it and comes in, and sends back by post the amount he has borrowed. There are no efficacious measures to prevent that.

Q. I took it that your reference to the United States was an approval of the action of that country as an act of self-preservation.

A. No.

Q. With regard to the scheme which you propose to submit to the Chairman of the Commission, can you state in a few words broadly in what direction your scheme would work?

A. It would work in creating a center of sufficient attraction that would induce men to come there. I beg you to allow me not to go further now. There will be time to enter into details later.

Q. Anything that is in your mind is in the direction of an attractive force, in another direction?

A. Yes.

Sir Kenelm Digby: You do not advocate the exclusion from the countries to which Jews go at present from your point of view? You do not advocate any restrictive measures being adopted by the countries to which Jews now go?

A. No. There are countries of bad reputation which can do that, and those who have not such a jealousy of conserving their renown and their old ideas of freedom as exists in England. They may do what they believe right.

AVERSE TO EXCLUSION

Q. At present those Jews who from one cause or another leave Roumania and Russia, and other places in the East, go partly to England and partly to America, and I suppose to a great extent to South Africa?

A. I think so.

Q. And to other places?

A. Yes; other parts.

Q. I do not understand that you desire at all to influence that by legislative measures, but you would advocate attraction elsewhere?

A. I would only advocate attraction to make the channel. I think that is the only way to direct the stream of migration.

Q. But even if your ideas were successful and had practical effect, that would not, as a matter of fact, would it, entirely stop the Jews going elsewhere, and I do not suppose you would expect that?

A. I think it would not only stop, but call there those who feel themselves, or were rather felt to be superfluous, who were not desired.

Q. You think, in fact, the moral and religious ideas as well as their material advantage would attract them?

A. As a whole, the whole block of advantages.

Q. You do not advocate, in order that that idea may be carried out, that other nations should exclude Jews from their countries? You do not consider that a necessary step in carrying out your ideas?

A. That the others may exclude?

Q. Yes.

A. I should not like to exclude. I should prefer to be a dreamer of dreams, and the facts not proving that I have seen justly.

Q. Do you really anticipate danger from any rise of any anti-Semitic feeling in a country like our own?

A. Yes; there exists a French proverb, "cet animal est tres impatient; il se defend quand on l'attaque." If the Jews are attacked they will defend themselves, and you will get something like internal troubles.

Q. Do you anticipate any serious danger of their being attacked?

A. Unfortunately I know anti-Semitic countries. I will not give examples. But I may state not only the Jews feel that they are uncomfortable there, but there is difficulty even for anti-Semites. There comes a time when even anti-Semites regret that they go against the Jews.

Q. You have not as yet, except in the evidence you have read, given before this Commission any evidence of semi-Semitic feeling arising in this country, have you?

A. I have seen those things, and I remember the time before the beginning of anti-Semitism in France. I was present at the beginning of the Dreyfus case, and then there was no anti-Semitism, but it came in, and I do not believe that it is good for a country

to have anti-Semitism; not only for the Jews, but it is bad for the country.

Q. I have before me a statement, and I should like to know whether you agree with it or not. "The outcry against the pauper alien"—speaking mainly of the Jewish alien—"seems in fact to be the commoner, on the whole more bitter, in political than in industrial circles."

A. That is the statement of a gentleman who has made a good deal of study of this question.

The Chairman: Does it refer to this country?

Sir Kenelm Digby: Yes; it is an extract from Russell's "The Jew in London." I think it is in the nature of a fact that political movements are always a little exaggerated.

A. It is in the nature of political proceedings.

Q. I gather from your evidence that the opinion you have formed as to the danger of anti-Semitic feeling in England is rather derived from the evidence given before this Commission which you have read?

A. Yes.

Q. One word in regard to dissemination. You have been asked a good deal by Mr. Norman about dissemination. Do you understand by that coercive dissemination, that is to say, dissemination by operation of law?

A. I understand by that, that if these Jewish gentlemen who propose it would carry it out, it would be as great a fault as it was to send back these Roumanian Jews, because they would prove that Jews themselves use a kind of restrictive means against Jews.

Q. Supposing there was legislation here preventing overcrowding, or supposing steps were taken under the existing law to prevent overcrowding, that would naturally spread the Jews rather wider, and send them to other parts because they could not get taken in, as there would not be sufficient lodging?

A. As I say in this evidence, the overcrowding restrictions are the most easily evaded. I read it in the evidence of several witnesses that there is a system of housekeeper and an owner, and it makes it impossible to prevent.

Q. That would depend to some extent on how the law is administered; but however that may be, supposing the housing restrictions were enforced, that of itself would cause dissemination, would it not, because they would have to spread over a wider area of ground?

A. I think so.

Q. You would not see any great evil in that?

A. I would not see any evil in it when there is not pressure upon a man to go to a certain point, if by the working of the surrounding conditions he is obliged to go elsewhere, where there is nothing against freedom.

Q. Taking dissemination in that sense, as the natural result of ordinary causes, you would see no objection to it?

A. No; I could not.

LORD ROTHSCHILD'S QUESTIONS

Lord Rothschild: I propose recalling to your mind some of the evidence you gave Major Gordon. I am afraid you did not quite understand some of the questions he put to you. I am going to put them in rather a different way: Do you think it possible that a Jew should be a disciple of Dr. Herzl and a Zionist, whatever that may mean, and at the same time a good citizen, and a good Englishman, or a good American, or a good Austrian?

A. I am deeply convinced of it, and you have the proof of it in the last war. I know of Zionist societies who belong to the Zionist groups who as a body were in your army.

Q. I am obliged to put that question in that way because I think you misunderstood Major Gordon, although I think he meant to put the question in the way I did, but he was rather more polite than I was. It was stated here at the beginning of this Commission that the fact of a man being a Zionist precluded him from being a good citizen and rendered it imperative that he should be excluded from the country. I want to put it to you so that you may explain to the Commission how it is compatible for a man to have the same feelings about persecuted brethren in Roumania, and yet be a good citizen?

A. I think that is a rhetorical question.

Q. Therefore the Commission may take it from you that a Jew or a body of Jews may share your views about what you call Zionism and yet be good and devoted citizens?

A. Yes; I think so, and far more than those who are not Zionists.

The Chairman: Will you kindly define your view of the word "Zionist"?

Lord Rothschild: Lord James and the Commission are anxious to have a greater knowledge of what you mean, or what is meant by the word "Zionism," whether you mean that there should be a combined movement to re-establish a Jewish State in Palestine or whether by the word "Zionism" you simply mean that some great

endeavor should be made to colonize some part of the world entirely with Jews. Do I make myself clear?

A. It is quite clear.

The Chairman: Would you say what a Zionist is according to you?

A. We have a programme formulated in the Basle Congress. It stated that the aims of Zionism are "to create a legally assured home for the Jewish people, in Palestine." That is the programme stated at the Basle Congress. Now it is certainly the goal, but there may be moments where immediate help or a step forward is indispensable, and so Zionists believe that always maintaining their principle and programme they should, however, try to alleviate the hard conditions of oppressed Jews by adequate means.

Lord Rothschild: As we are on that question I will go on with it. You are aware that philanthropic gentlemen, I will not mention their names, have tried to establish Jewish colonies in Palestine?

A. They did not succeed.

Q. And these colonies, all of them, have failed hitherto?

A. Yes.

Q. There are different opinions why they have failed, but I believe the great majority of people say they failed because the Turkish Government would not allow them to succeed.

A. Well, my Lord, I should prefer not to speak about the Turkish Government here, and about the Palestine settlements for the moment.

PRESSING A POINT

Q. I will not say the dream, but the object that a Zionist has in view is to find a fresh opening for oppressed Jews, apart from the present openings they have got, a fresh home for them, whether it be in Palestine itself, or whether it be on the road to Palestine or elsewhere?

A. I should prefer to speak about that at a later moment. I may ask his Lordship to give me a few moments, and I will put my views in a few words privately to him, and then the Chairman may communicate it to his colleagues.

Q. We will go to quite another subject. You were asked about persecution of the Jews, and if I understood you rightly you know little about the persecution in Poland and Russia, you were not personally acquainted with the state of Poland and Russia?

A. I am not personally acquainted with it, but it is the same as with many facts. I know, for instance, facts of history where I was not present. I know it from trustworthy sources.

Q. You can tell the Commission what is taking place in Roumania today?

A. Yes; I can.

Q. How many Jews are there in Roumania?

A. About a quarter of a million

Q. They are obliged to serve in the army?

A. Yes.

Q. They never can become non-commissioned officers at all?

A. There are very few exceptions, very few.

Q. They can hold no land?

A. They can hold no land.

MORE OF ROUMANIA

Q. Will you tell the Commission what are the particular disadvantages they suffer from in Roumania, and how they have been persecuted there, and how the new laws which have been passed will affect them?

A. First, they are affected by the uncertainty of tomorrow, of the coming day. I think that is one of the greatest disadvantages a man can have, that he is uncertain of not being turned out tomorrow of his profession, and of his house or standing, the insecurity of all his conditions. Then there is a real boycott, and a legal boycott. The real boycott is the same we know, for instance, in Galicia and in several countries, where anti-Semitism is prevailing. They say, "Do not buy from Jewish shops," and in Roumania there is a legal boycott now, and they have brought out a new law against alien tradesmen. But you must understand that in Roumania even natives whose forefathers were born in the land are treated as aliens, and in Roumania the words "alien" and "Jew" are synonymous.

Q. Can a Jew become a lawyer in Roumania?

A. I know, for instance, a lawyer who has been turned out. He was a lawyer there, he had a solicitor's office, and he has been turned out. I do not know for what reason.

Major Evans-Gordon: Was he turned out because he was a Jew?

A. If he had been a Roumanian he could not have been turned out.

Lord Rothschild: In Roumania, in order to practice in any way, you must be a Roumanian? Is that it?

A. To have security, you must be a full-righted citizen.

Q. And the fact of your being a Jew prevents your becoming a Roumanian?

A. You know what was in the Berlin Treaty.

Q. The Berlin Treaty stated that the Roumanians would have to alter that.

A. Every Jew has to go through parliamentary decision to get an authorization or a reception from the Parliament, and they vote upon each demand for citizenship, and they refuse or they give. There are only about three hundred who have the rights among a quarter of a million. I am not quite sure of the figures.

Q. Supposing the Roumanian Government were forced to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin and put the Jews there on an equal footing with the Roumanians, is there room for them in Roumania or not?

A. With regard to land, do you mean?

Q. I am taking the whole question together—land, army, law, medicine, trade—put the whole thing together?

A. It is not only that. That is a theoretical thing. It is not only a question of having equal rights. I know countries where the Jews have the full rights, but in execution they have not. So that even if you force, which is quite impossible that there will be, in the interest of the European powers, intervention with the Roumanian Government to give that, if I were a Roumanian statesman I would ask any country which was itself anti-Semitic to go ahead. For that reason I do not believe in intervention, but even if it could be done, I think the population would make it inefficacious in practice.

Q. The surrounding population hate the Jews there?

A. We must think so, because they kill them and throw them into the water. They are proofs of a certain aversion.

Q. Or is it that the condition of the whole of Roumania is so miserable that some one must go from the country?

A. I think certainly that the poor Roumanian is a very poor man.

LORD JAMES SUMMARIZES

The Chairman: I want to crystalize your evidence. You, of course, appear here in one sense on behalf of your race, in which you are interested?

A. Yes.

Q. And you are very anxious to see everything that you can see done to benefit that race?

A. Yes.

Q. Maintaining that character, and speaking as the advocate of your race, without consideration of this country alone, do you wish

any alteration made in the present law affecting the right of them as a portion of the alien immigrants to come into this country?

A. No. I should not wish.

Q. You, as their advocate, ask for no restriction?

A. Yes.

Q. And you want to maintain perfect freedom?

A. Yes.

Q. I distinguish between the alien immigrant and the Jewish immigrant. I ask you with regard to your Jewish brethren as a portion of the alien immigration?

A. I ask you not to make any difference between them.

Q. Of course, you say so, speaking simply as their advocate and on their behalf?

A. Yes.

Q. May I not with your permission draw a complete line between that portion of your evidence in which you have spoken as their advocate, and the other portion to which you have been led to speak by some of the members of the Commission who have asked your opinion upon things affecting this country?

A. Yes.

Q. I may draw that line?

A. Yes.

Q. I am sure you will forgive me if I say to you that it may be we here in this country have more knowledge of what takes place than you have when you express an opinion of what is good for us here?

A. Certainly, my Lord.

Q. Do you wish us to pay any degree or a great degree of attention to the latter portion, if your evidence which affects the remedies that are suggested here for the evils, if they exist, do you wish us to pay much attention to what I call the British portion of your evidence?

A. I say so in my evidence.

Q. I paid every attention and great respect to what you have said on behalf of your race and your brethren, but when we come to deal with what exists here, do you wish us to pay the same attention to that portion of your evidence as we do to what affects your race?

A. I put it before you. Certainly I have less knowledge of the real conditions here than you have yourself.

Q. Let me give you an instance. Your general knowledge of what exists throughout the world, of course, will tell you that over-

crowding in houses is an evil. I am sure you will be the first to admit that?

A. Yes.

Q. As to the extent of overcrowding in any one locality in this country, have you any knowledge beyond what you have read in the proceedings of this Commission?

A. No.

Q. Then the data upon which you could find a remedy are scarcely in your possession, are they? You have not the knowledge of these data which exist in this country with which we have to deal?

A. No. I knew about it. I had general knowledge, but the figures I found in the evidence were the most statistical material I have had—the best statistics.

Q. You state on the first leaf of your paper the two alternatives: that we may forbid immigration, or we may allow it to continue as it exists. On those two matters you express your opinion properly enough. Do you wish to express any opinion as to a third course we may take, and that is to regulate and control the present immigration so as to meet the evils which exist here?

A. Certainly; I understand there may be an administrative way of dealing with it without changing the laws or the general institutions. I understand that, but I am not sure it will be sufficient.

Q. You do not know yet what any suggested control or arrangement would be?

A. But I have two facts to give me a slight instruction, and those are: first, the general conditions of entrance into your land, and, secondly, the misery present from sending to this land, or to any free points, the oppressed Jews. On these two facts I have not the presumption to anticipate what measures can be taken.

Q. Will you repeat the second point that you made?

A. I repeat that I think the oppression or the misery is so great that it would defy the victims how to turn if they are dying and they tried to live elsewhere.

Q. That is not quite my point. Supposing we could find some arrangement here to control immigration, and by arrangement lessen the overcrowding and the other evils, do you feel qualified to express an opinion that we ought not to make an attempt to do that?

A. From the English standpoint, no.

Q. I quite understand if anything occurs you would wish to allow things to go on as they are in this country?

A. I think it would be preferable.

Q. From your point of view?

A. From my point of view.

Q. But if the interests of this country require arrangement and control, I understand that you would not say that it would be either inhumane or contrary to any view of charity for us to take the step of control and even arrangement of the immigration?

A. As we are in the promised times I should admit that every country decides for itself the necessities of self-defense.

WHAT CHARITIES SHOULD DO

Q. There is one more matter which Lord Rothschild probably abstained from questioning you about from a desire not to be egotistic. You rather, as I understand, condemn the amount of charity that the Jewish people show in this country to the immigrant?

A. I do not condemn it.

Q. But you regret it?

A. I regret that the moneys spent in the work of charity are not used in a general scheme which would, perhaps, be more efficacious, and which would avoid creating professional beggars, and which would help real working people.

Q. Will you be a little practical? What would you have altered in the present system of Jewish charity, and into what would you like to see that system resolved?

A. That would mean that I should have to give a lecture on the subject. If it would not make you impatient, may I give a quotation from a French author? A lady came back from church and said: "How wonderful that preaching was!" "About what?" asked another. "About charity." "Well," asked she, "what could he have said new about charity? There is nothing to say new about charity." Certainly you ought to be charitable, but you must be charitable in the means, and consider the general conditions of your times. In the time of railways and shipping, and so on, when you can for £3 get from a far-distant land to another, you must have quite another kind of charity to what you had in 1800. I do not condemn charity, I am not foolish enough to do so.

Q. I want something practical, if you can give a suggestion to Lord Rothschild or any of those who lead charity in this country.

A. I should do it with pleasure.

Q. What would you tell them to do? What would you wish? Would you say, "Send the Jews to one place," or "Give them a particular means of living," or what would you suggest?

A. I would give them general advice and say, "Unite your forces and find out the right place and help the real working man instead of the wandering beggars and the professionals."

Q. Find out the right place for what?

A. For settling.

Q. You want a system of settling, probably away, from this country?

A. Yes.

WHY BARON HIRSCH FAILED

Q. Have not some of these settlements been tried and failed?

A. They have been tried and they have failed, because people making these trials thought that money was all in the world; but it is not. With money you cannot make a general movement of a great mass of people. You must give them an ideal. You must put into them the belief in their future, and then you are able to take out of them the devotion to the hardest labor imaginable. I will give you an example. Argentina has a very good soil, and the conditions for agricultural labor are much better than in Palestine. But in Palestine they work with enthusiasm and they succeed. They are not the artificially made colonies; they are self-helping colonies which have that great national idea. I will not make a long speech, but I think it is clear enough what I mean.

Mr. Alfred Lyttleton: Did they fail in Argentina?

A. They failed partly because there they were thinking always of the administration of what was given them by Baron Hirsch; and there was a company started which surrounded them with all the necessities, and avoided the difficulties, and so on. They are not self-standing.

This is an extract from a book that is ascribed to Mr. Harry S. Lewis with regard to Zionism. I want to ask whether you subscribe to this paragraph which I will read?

It should be added that the growth of Jewish national feeling is not out of harmony with the claims of English citizenship. It may be a curious question for casuists whether a conflict between the two obligations might arise in any conceivable circumstances. For practical men it is enough that our adopted country, to which we owe so great a debt of gratitude, does not require us to be worse Jews in order that we may be better Englishmen. We will not conceal the fact that our ultimate aspirations are fixed on the home of our fathers, and that we believe that the genius of the Jewish race will be best developed on Jewish soil. But, for many generations to come, migration to Palestine must be a slow process, and

perhaps the Holy Land can never be more than the center of Jewish life. Meanwhile our home is here, and we have to show ourselves worthy of the hospitality which we enjoy. The distinct but not divergent claims of citizenship and Jewish nationality may be exceptional, but so is the whole history of Israel.

A. Those are excellent words.

IMMIGRATION IN AMERICA

Mr. Norman: Are you aware whether it is the fact or not that the leading Jews in America have informed their correspondents here that they cannot receive and distribute any more Jewish immigrants?

A. I have heard of difficulties of emigration, and that they are overcrowded with Jews. As to that information I cannot say.

Q. You know in a general way, but not in so definite a way as I have put to you?

A. No.

Q. In your opinion would not the stream of emigration to America have been much greater if no law had existed?

A. I think this law did not alter it much. This prohibition could not change it.

Q. On what grounds do you believe that?

A. It is a question of coasts and harbors. They come in. How will you prevent a man from coming in?

Q. Do you mean they are smuggled in?

A. No. I do not believe that, but they always find means to come in.

Q. They evade the law?

A. They do not evade the law. They fulfill the conditions of the law, but the conditions of the law are not efficacious. Certainly they comply with the law.

Major Evans-Gordon: One question on that subject. You refer to the American law, and to the Jewish community sending a great many people on to America, or trying to send people on to America from here?

A. Yes; several communities try to give them the necessary means, and that is done in a quiet, official and frank and loyal way.

Q. Do the Jewish Board of Guardians and other people assist people on to America from here? Do you know that?

A. I know that several parties do it.

Q. What I want to get at is this: That in sending people on to America, where the restrictive laws act, they have to be carefully selected. Do you read the reports of the Jewish Board of Guardians?

A. From time to time.

Q. You will see there constant reference made to the careful selection of the people that are sent on to America?

A. Yes.

Q. Therefore my point is that if those restrictive measures do not exist in America it would be much easier to send the people on?

A. Certainly.

Q. And therefore the restrictive laws in America do act as a deterrent to sending people there?

A. I am not at all in favor of these restrictive laws.

Q. But they do act as a deterrent inasmuch as people have to be selected?

A. Yes; and I think it is rather astonishing that a country like America does so, a country which has been made by immigration. I do not need to take the example of Australia, which was a colony made not by the highest class of immigrants, if I am well instructed. See what a commonwealth it is now. A desperate immigrant is not necessarily an undesirable man. I believe young civilization is made by despairing men.

The Chairman: That is all the questions we desire to put. I am sure every member of the Commission thanks you very much for your goodness in coming here, and we fully appreciate the evidence you have given us.

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